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AUTHOR Soule, Suzanne
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ABSTRACT

This study asks, To what degree has the Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program in Bosnia and Herzegovina been effective in creating or promoting attitudes and values that serve to strengthen support for democratic institutions and processes among Bosnia and Herzegovina school children? To answer this question, an empirical study was conducted with nearly two thousand upper elementary and secondary students in Bosnia and Herzegovina in May 1999. This report provides evidence of the effectiveness of the program based on a comparison of those who participated in Project Citizen and those who did not. The results indicate that civic education favorably affects students' political knowledge and participatory skills, as well as attitudes and core values. (Author/BB)

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BEYOND COMMUNISM AND WAR

The Effect of Civic Education on the Democratic Attitudes and Behavior of Bosnian and Herzegovinian Youth

Suzanne Soule, Coordinator of Research and Evaluation
soule@civiced.org

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Center for
Civic Education

Abstract

*To what degree has the **Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program** in Bosnia and Herzegovina been effective in creating or promoting attitudes and values that serve to strengthen support for democratic institutions and processes among Bosnia and Herzegovina school children? To answer this question, an empirical study was conducted with nearly two thousand upper elementary and secondary students in Bosnia and Herzegovina in May 1999. This report provides evidence of the effectiveness of the program based on a comparison of those who participated in **Project Citizen** and those who did not. The results indicate that civic education favorably affects students' political knowledge and participatory skills, as well as attitudes and core values.*

The Importance of Civic Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Dayton Peace Accord created an opportunity whereby citizens of the new nation-state of Bosnia and Herzegovina have opportunities for meaningful political participation. But egalitarian and democratic styles of negotiation and interaction do not emerge fully formed in a population by virtue of a nation holding free elections (Flanagan and Sherrod 1998, 454-455). Well-designed institutions are not enough; democracy relies upon the values, attitudes, knowledge and skills of its citizens. Norms such as political compromise, support for fundamental rights of expression and assembly, political tolerance and support for the rule of law need to be acquired by citizens. Developing a political culture favorable to democracy is a process, both of learning by adults and of generational replacement.

Research has demonstrated that while citizens master civic skills throughout their life cycle, early learning experiences are especially important. Adolescence is a critical period for students to develop support for democratic norms (Avery et al. 1992). There are few agents of socialization available to policymakers in Bosnia and Herzegovina capable of positively affecting skills, attitudes and values of the next generation, so policymakers have turned to educational institutions. This is not surprising, as formal education in general and civic education in particular has always been central in theories of creating a democratic citizenry. Civic education, the goal of which is to promote "informed, responsible participation in political life by competent citizens" [1] committed to democratic values, is being implemented in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Will democracy establish firmer roots within this emerging political cohort?

The next political generation is coming of age in an atmosphere rife with uncertainty. Four years of war shattered the country along ethnic lines.

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[1] "National Standards for Civics and Government," p. 1.

While the war ended with the formal acceptance of the terms in the Dayton Peace Accord, data from adults demonstrate that consensus on key issues has not been reached. USIA surveys of adults since 1995 confirm that majorities of Bosnian Serbs and Croats doubt the three ethnic groups can live together because the war has done too much damage.[2] Only Bosniacs (Bosnian Muslims) solidly support a multiethnic society.[3] Voting along ethnic blocs is still the norm in most regions. Data suggest that, overall, only Bosniacs have confidence in central government institutions.[4] Refugee resettlement remains painfully slow. Majorities of all three ethnic communities think that most politicians are corrupt.[5] And majorities among all three communities are concerned that the fighting might start again in a few years.

The emerging political cohort in Bosnia and Herzegovina will require new skills to resolve these pressing problems within a democratic framework. To this end, the United States Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, in cooperation with the United States Department of State, funds **Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program**, administered by the Center for Civic Education.[6] **Civitas@Bosnia and Herzegovina** implements the program in BiH.[7] They have trained more than 3,500 elementary and secondary school teachers in civic education curricula in all three entities.[8] In 1999 more than 43% of elementary and secondary schools were involved in **Civitas** programs. Teachers use modified curricula—lessons from *Foundations of Democracy: Authority, Privacy, Responsibility, and Justice* and *Project Citizen*—developed by the Center for Civic Education. In 1998-99, approximately 100,000 students in BiH participated in **Project Citizen**. Since the program began in 1996, 200,000 have participated. Students who participate in **Project Citizen** do so voluntarily, usually in their homeroom free period or as an extracurricular activity.[9]

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[2] In October 1999, the United States Information Agency became a part of the U.S. Department of State. The research division is now called the Office of Research at the Department of State.

[3] United States Information Agency Report. "Public Opinion in Bosnia and Herzegovina, V 5: Two Years After Dayton Peace Accords," April 1998, pp. 57-78. See also p. 38

[4] Ibid. p. 83

[5] Ibid. p. 87

[6] As a **Civitas** partner Bosnia and Herzegovina has been paired with the American states of California, Arizona and Nevada. Policymakers and educators from both countries have participated in exchange delegations focussed on improving civic education in both countries.

[7] Staffs at **Civitas@Bosnia and Herzegovina**, as well as the network of coordinators who work to implement the program throughout the country, were very helpful in assisting with this research. In addition, Professors Adila Kreso, Faculty of Philosophy, and Safet Smajkic, Pedagogic Academy, University of Sarajevo reviewed the survey instrument.

[8] Over 40 American educators have conducted professional development seminars with BiH teachers. Teachers from Minnesota, Ohio, Alaska, Massachusetts and many other states have shared their methods and content knowledge with educators in BiH. In return, educators from BiH have visited their partner sites in California, Nevada, and Arizona, visited classes and shared their experiences with American educators and students.

[9] In six out of ten cantons, **Foundations of Democracy** and **Project Citizen** have been adopted as a formal requirement. Adoption into the formal curriculum is expected to expand to all ten cantons in the Federation and to all elementary schools in Republic Srpska in 2000-01.

Program: *Foundations of Democracy: Authority, Privacy, Responsibility and Justice* and *Project Citizen*

The program in BiH has two components, with regional variations. First, students learn about the concepts of authority, privacy, responsibility and justice from the *Foundations of Democracy* series. They consider the difference between authority and power without authority, the need for authority, where authority is found, how rules and laws are made, and how to choose people for positions of authority. Students study the importance of responsibility and the conflicts between competing responsibilities. Finally, students learn about distributive, corrective, and procedural justice. For most students this is their first opportunity to consider and to discuss these concepts.

Following the introduction of these four concepts, students begin **Project Citizen**, the centerpiece of the **Civitas** education program. **Project Citizen** teaches students how to monitor and influence public policy. Students work together and develop consensus building and political contacting skills. **Project Citizen** instructs students to follow six steps:

- Identify public policy problems in their communities.
- Select a problem for the class to study by voting on it.
- Conduct research and gather information from libraries, newspaper offices, professors, lawyers, interest groups, legislative offices, administrative agencies, and other sources.
- Develop a portfolio. Students discuss problems, evaluate alternative policies, and develop public policy. The class supports an action plan to get the class policy accepted. The portfolio is a documentary display that consists of four panels representing each of these steps.
- Four teams of students present their portfolios for judging in a simulated legislative hearing. Judges, who are often influential community members, act as legislative committee members and pose questions to students that allow them to demonstrate their knowledge and understanding of how public policy is formulated.
- Reflect on their learning experience. The national competition in BiH takes place every May with winning teams from each of the cantons and regions. Winning elementary and secondary classes from each of the ten cantons compete in Sarajevo, and the top two classes from Republika Srpska present at the National Showcase.

Many classes attempted to implement their policy proposals beyond the program requirements. This study found that well over half of all participating students, 73%, tried to implement their public policy proposals. Nearly a third (30%) had success in implementing their proposals. One example of success was in Prijedor, where students succeeded in mustering new trashcans, benches, and flowers for their city.

Research Design

The population surveyed includes upper elementary, seventh and eight grade students, and secondary students, tenth through twelfth grade students, mostly twelfth grade students. In 1999, 200 elementary schools, out of a nationwide total of 459, had at least one class participating in **Project Citizen**. Out of 282 secondary schools, 121 had a **Project Citizen** class. From a list of participating schools, 50 classes were randomly selected: 25 upper elementary, 25 secondary. A total of 1,991 students were surveyed in May 1999. In addition, 50 teachers whose classes participated also completed a short questionnaire.

The sample was stratified by ethnicity. Within the Federation, Bosniacs comprise 65% and Bosnian Croats 35% of participants in the program. So Bosniac and Bosnian Croat schools, which are mostly ethnically segregated, were randomly sampled by this ratio, 65/35. Serb students from the Republika Srpska also participate in the program, but unfortunately due to NATO bombing in nearby Kosovo, participating schools could not be surveyed.

This study was post-test only. For each participating class, a control class (same grade, teacher, and school) was also surveyed. This provides a means to measure differences between students who participated in the program and those who did not. Because students chose to be in the program, it is possible that they were different to begin with. One limit to this post-test only design is that we cannot rule out that there were student differences at the outset. But if we do not see differences in the two groups from the post-test, we can rule out the effects of the program.

Hypotheses: What Is Expected to Change

Skills, knowledge, attitudes, and values important for exercising competent citizenship are measured in this survey. While the focus of **Project Citizen** is on the acquisition of knowledge and participatory skills directly related to addressing public policy problems, the interactive nature of the program was also hypothesized to foster positive democratic attitudes and values.

What follows is a list of skills and knowledge, attitudes, and values that are expected to change. Please see Appendix A (p. 33) for a complete list of the question items. Multiple question items summed into indices test most of these hypotheses.[10]

[10] Combining individual question items increases the reliability of the findings. Each index was tested using rotated factor analysis to ensure that it consisted of only one factor. Only indices with an alpha greater than .5 were used. In some instances, individual question items were tested.

Skills and Knowledge
Participating in **Project Citizen** will increase:

1. *Persuasive and reasoning skills that are directly transferable to political action.*

2. *Knowledge of how to gather information on an issue of public policy, from a variety of sources, including officials responsible for public policy.*

3. *Political participation.*

4. *Discussion of politics, as measured by attempting to persuade someone to vote for or support a specific candidate or cause.*

5. *Knowledge about local government: who is responsible, who to contact, and how to influence government.*

6. *Understanding of the importance of elections.*

7. *Likelihood to vote if given the opportunity.*

8. *Likelihood of someday running for public office.*

Attitudes
Participating **Project Citizen** will result in an increased:

9. *Sense of external efficacy, that as a citizen, I can make the government listen and respond.*

10. *Sense of internal efficacy, that I feel well prepared to participate in political and public life.*

11. *Perception of the importance of the responsibilities and obligations of citizenship.*

12. *Perception that government officials are accountable to the electorate.*

13. *Reasoned political tolerance, both of groups and ideas.*

14. *Interest in political affairs, demonstrated by increased attention to news and current events.*

Values
Participating in **Project Citizen** will increase:

15. *Support for the rule of law.*

16. *Support for fundamental rights of expression, assembly and participation.*

17. *Anti-authoritarian values.*

Results

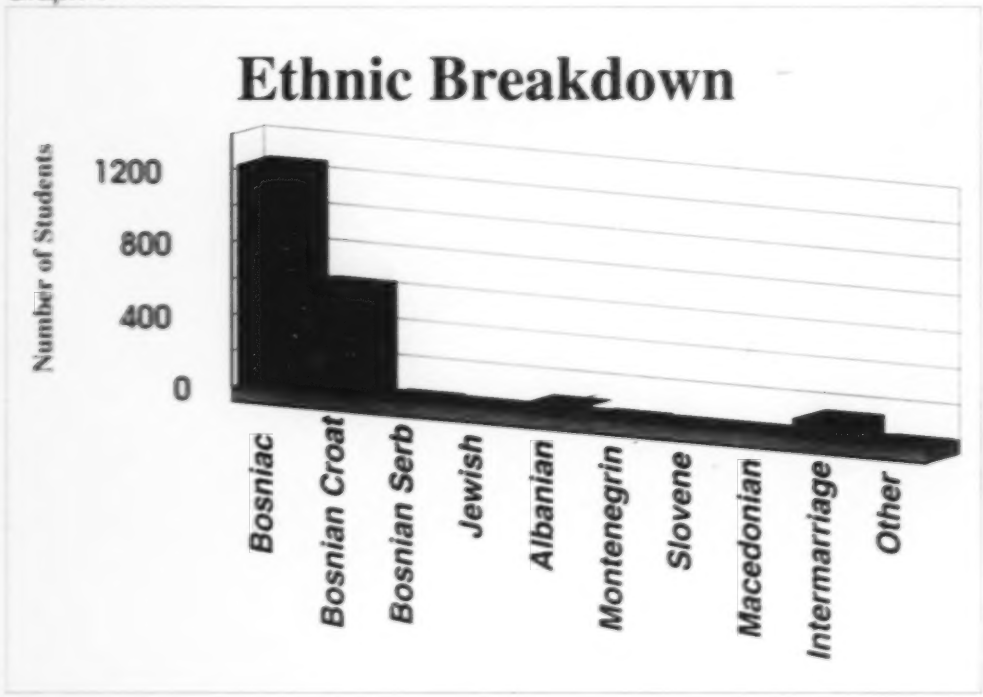
Of 1,991 students surveyed, 54% were high school students. Students were born between 1977 and 1988 (only one student was born in 1977), with the median age sixteen years. The war was a major part of their formative years, as evidenced by the 50% of students who reported that they were forced to leave their homes during the war.

There is a negative correlation between those forced to leave their home during the war and socioeconomic status. Students whose parents' were forced to relocate during the war report slightly lower occupational prestige and education.

Over 80% of the schools in this sample are urban or suburban, but the data suggest that those residing in rural areas were more likely to have been forced to relocate. In this study, correlations show that more Bosnian Croat students came from rural areas. This is also correlated with their reported lower parental socio-economic status and slightly greater wartime dislocation than for Bosniac students (mean difference .07) during the war.

Ethnicities in this sample broke down as follows: 62.3% were Bosniac, 30.4% Bosnian Croat (predominately Catholic), and 5.4% were of mixed ethnicities. Less than 1% of students surveyed were Bosnian Serb, a reflection of regional group segregation following the war.

Graph 1

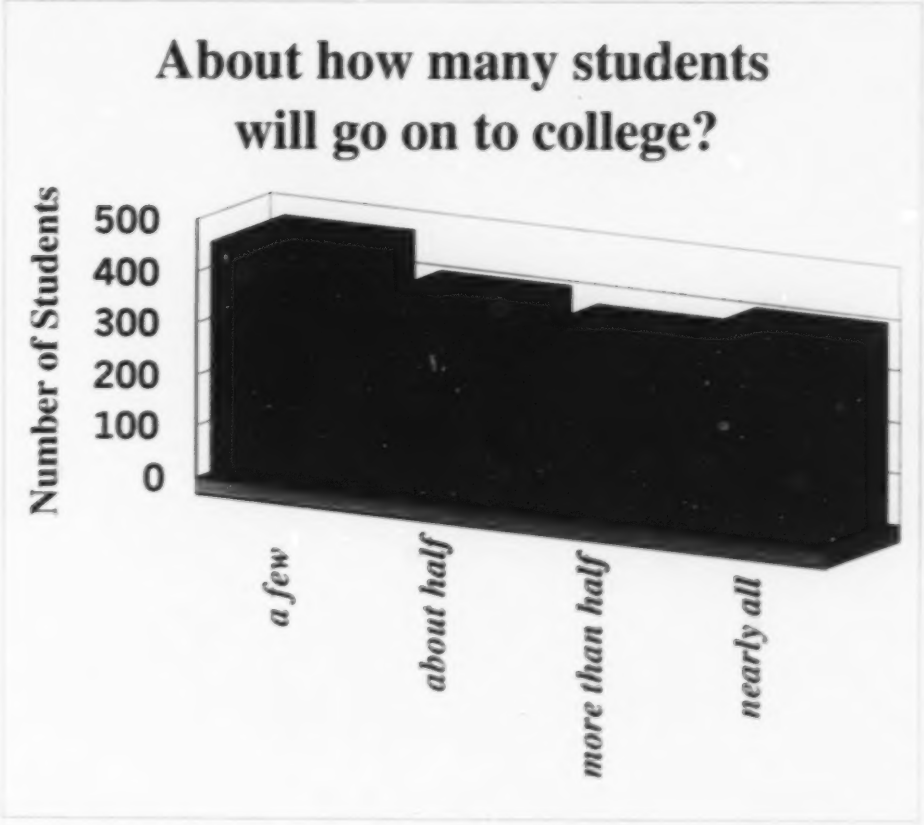


Students who opted to participate in civic education reported a higher grade point average, on a scale of 1-5, a mean difference of .3. This sample also contained more girls 58% than boys 42%. Girls reported a higher grade point average, 4.0 than boys, 3.7 (on a scale of 1-5). Among all participating students the gender ratio was 60.5% female to 39.5% male. Other than the observation that students who report slightly higher grade point averages are more likely to participate in

this program, we're not sure why girls would be more likely than boys to participate.[11]

Project Citizen is used in all school types, from trade schools to gymnasiums (college preparatory). A wide variety of schools were sampled. From the teacher survey, the best predictive variable to control for variation in school type was found to be their estimate of how many of their students would go on to college. Many of the students queried here by their teachers' estimation are unlikely to attend college.

Graph 2



[11] There is a dearth of research on youth in BiH, but prior research on gender differences in various countries over the past thirty years demonstrated that boys expressed greater interest and political knowledge than girls (Owen and Dennis 1988, Torney-Purta 1991). More recent research has found fewer gender differences in the U.S., particularly in anticipated future political participation (Hahn 1996, 20). Hahn suggests that data indicate differences in political interests, with females being more interested in political issues that might be labeled "social," (welfare, abortion for example) and males being more interested in "patriotic issues" (military, world peace, economic competitiveness) (1996, 27).

Skills and Knowledge

Project Citizen students gained most in participatory skills, research skills and in knowledge about local government. The first comparison of participating versus nonparticipating students will be explored through a difference in means test. [12]

Table 1. Differences in Means (T-Test)

	No Curriculum	Curriculum	Mean Difference
Persuasive and Reasoning Skills	6.25 (1.99)	6.83 (1.89)	.58**
Research Skills – Media and Family	8.19 (2.43)	9.24 (2.16)	1.05**
Research Skills – Opinions of Leaders and Government Officials	5.18 (1.36)	6.94 (2.26)	1.76**
Political Participation – Contacting Officials	13.8 (2.55)	17.63 (4.59)	3.83**
Political Participation – Attending Meeting, Protesting, Contacting Media, Persuading	9.67 (2.37)	9.92 (2.41)	.25**
Knowledge about Local Government	8.58 (3.11)	9.98 (2.88)	1.4**
Likelihood of Voting in the Future (1=Least Likely; 7=Most Likely)	4.88 (2.25)	5.31 (2.04)	.43**

Reported are the mean scores, with the standard deviation in parentheses.
All differences are significant at $p<.01$ or $p<.05$, using either parametric or nonparametric tests.
A double asterisk** indicates that the probability of this result being due to chance is less than one in one hundred.

The differences between participating students and the control group are all highly significant, indicating that the differences are not due to chance. Participating students show the greatest difference in political participation. They are more likely to have spoken with a government official about problems in their community; to rally support for a policy issue; have contacted a public official in person, via mail or by phone; and to have met with members of interest groups to obtain information. To a lesser extent, but still significantly greater than nonparticipants, **Project Citizen** participants attended council meetings, called political talk shows, and took part in protests. Participatory skills such as these form an integral link between citizens and public policy. These students are better able to express their preferences while reminding policy makers to whom they are accountable.

[12] Difference is assessed through a standard difference in means test (a "t-test"). This test generates a probability that the difference in means is not due to chance. Probabilities of less than .05 are considered to be significant; the difference in means between participants and non-enrollees is evidence of an effect of the program.

Civic education programs aim for informed political participation. Participants have gathered information on problems in their communities from scholars, lawyers, community organizations, and government officials, as well as media and family, to a greater extent than nonparticipants. These students report greater knowledge of which governmental branches or officials are responsible for various public policies. And they believe that they could identify and then take steps to influence members of their government. Participants report that they are better skilled at using facts and reason to analyze other peoples' positions on problems and to explain problems to other people.

On a 1-7 scale, **Project Citizen** students would be more likely to vote if given the opportunity (actual voting could not be measured as most students were ineligible during the last election cycle).

These differences in means are positive, but does participation still matter when other variables, such as socioeconomic status, grade point average, age and so on, are factored into the equation? To determine this, the data were analyzed through ordinary least squares regression models. This is particularly important due to the absence of a pretest. It does not control for differences at the outset, but does allow us to control for other factors that pose competing hypotheses. The models for each of the measures are included on pages 20-32. Each measure of political knowledge and skill is the dependent variable (what we are seeking to explain). Prior research posits that age, for instance, should increase skills and knowledge. Likewise, students who have higher grades should score higher on the above measures.

Participation in **Project Citizen** has a significant impact on skills and knowledge across all measures.
The largest impacts are on political participation, research skills, and knowledge about local government. When controlling for other variables, participation increases scores on persuasive and reasoning skills, and even slightly on voting. These regression models are an important test for the effects of the program. While controlling for competing hypotheses (e.g. age, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, grade point average, gender) this study found that participation in the program increases students' scores on all measures. Participation emerges as the best predictor in most of these models.

Table 1 shows that older students, as might be expected, score higher on most items of participation and knowledge. They score higher than their younger cohort in knowledge about local government and political participation (attending meetings, protesting, etc.). The data reveal that older students are significantly more likely to vote if given the opportunity.

Grade point average is not a particularly important variable in explaining political participation. Students with higher grades, as expected, do score higher on reported persuasive and reasoning skills.

Controlling for gender reveals an interesting finding; while young women are more likely to have gathered information on a public policy from media, family, and friends, young males report greater knowledge about local government. Testing for program by gender interaction reveals that boys who participate in the program are more likely to have contacted public officials than are girls (Beta .24**). Girls who participate are more likely than boys to have conducted research (Beta .20**). Those were the only two interaction effects found for gender in this study. So, with the above exception noted, we can conclude that the program affects boys and girls similarly.

Bosniacs score slightly higher on these measures of skills and knowledge across nearly all categories. All coefficients are small, but positive. When testing for interaction effects, Bosniacs who participate in **Project Citizen** contacted officials at higher rates, felt more efficacious, and thought that government officials should be more accountable than did Bosnian Croat participants. This finding might best be explained by surveys of adults between 1995 and 1998. These show that Bosniacs express greater confidence in local government and much greater confidence in the central government than do other ethnic groups.[13] Greater confidence in public institutions are likely being transmitted by other agents of socialization (e.g., parents, media). This could result in Bosniac students reporting increased engagement and commitment to active citizenship in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Dislocation during the war depresses knowledge about local government, but it slightly increases students' responses on gathering information from media and family. Parents' education has a uniformly positive effect, when it is significant. Interestingly, higher parental education has no effect on students' knowledge about local government; nor does it increase their likelihood of voting. Students who attended schools where most students go on to colleges are very slightly less likely to have attended meetings, protested, or contacted media. Socio-economic status is not an important predictor of political skills and knowledge of students. Participating in **Project Citizen** is the best predictor in most models.

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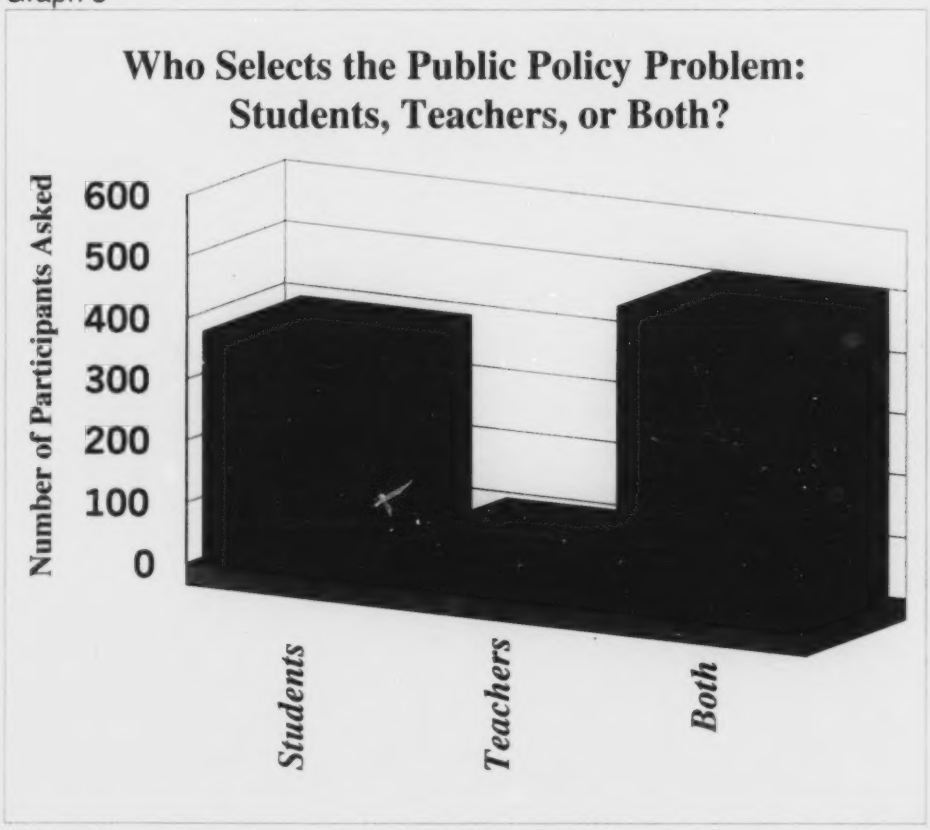
[13] Because this study was post-test only, both groups may have gained on these measures. We plan to conduct research in 2000-01 to answer this question. In surveys conducted since 1995, USIA, now the U.S. Department of State, has surveyed adults about their confidence in local and central government. In 1998, 65% of Bosnian Croats and 72% of Bosniacs expressed confidence in local government. The gap widens in opinion toward the federal government. When asked, "How much confidence do you have in the central government of Bosnia and Herzegovina?" only 45% of Bosnian Serbs and 16% of Bosnian Croats, in contrast to 67% of Bosniacs, expressed confidence. USIA, "Public Opinion in Bosnia and Herzegovina," "Volume V: Two Years After Dayton Peace Accord", April 1998, pp. 121-122.

Among **Project Citizen** *Students*

This study was conducted to determine what the effects of variations within treatment might be on skills and knowledge. The variables of interest to us are as follows. First, did students select their own topic? **Project Citizen** training instructs teachers to allow students to democratically select a public policy problem. Teachers, often in the best interest of students, intervene in the choice of "appropriate" public policy issue.[14]

Forty percent of students in this sample selected their own topic. The teacher selected the topic in only 7% or about two classes. In 53% of the classes, topics were selected by a combination of teacher and students.

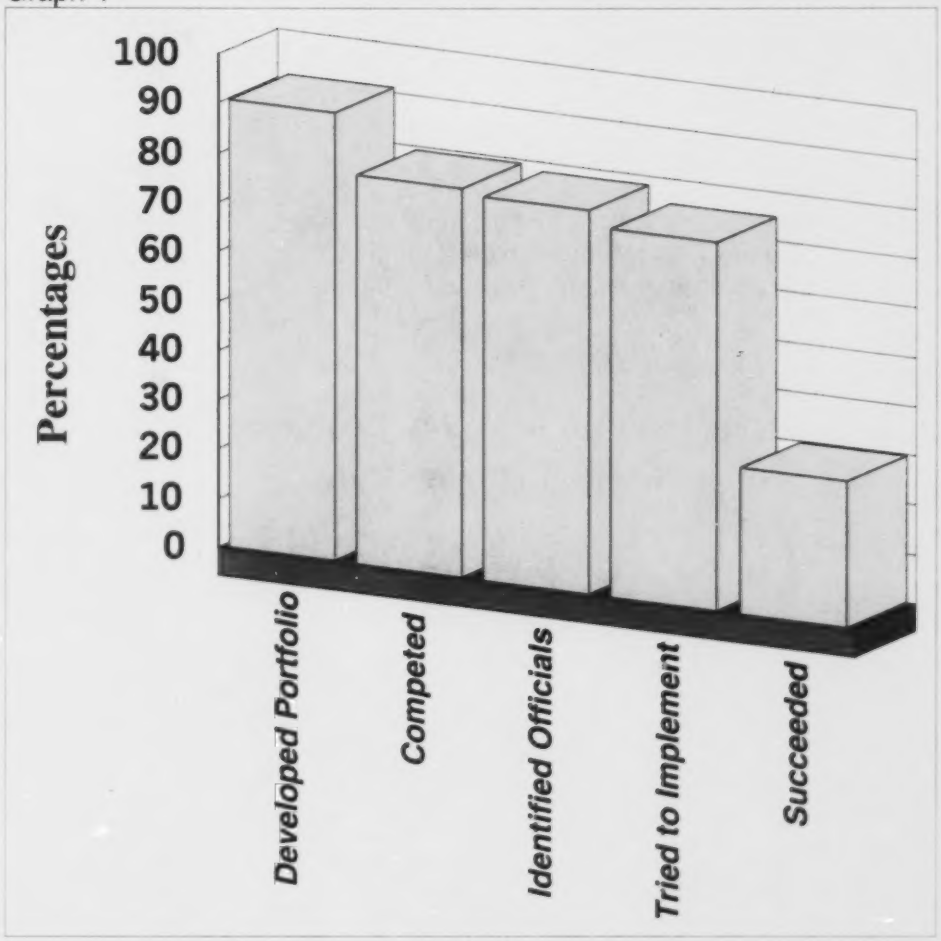
Graph 3



[14] Research on other students in the U.S. and elsewhere is underway to determine whether teachers have difficulty in allowing students to select their own topic. Teachers may intervene for the best of reasons, such as righting students who get sidetracked into issues not addressable via public policy. Students may want to select a universal problem, such as world hunger, that they may not be able to address locally.

Activities Among Program Participants

Graph 4



The above graph illustrates student participation at various stages within and beyond the program requirements. More than 90% of participating students presented a portfolio to adult judges. Over 79% of students competed. 78% of students identified the responsible governmental official or branch. These high figures demonstrate that the program is being well implemented.

Seventy-five percent of students, excited by their policy proposals, went beyond the program requirements and tried to get their policies implemented. Thirty percent of students successfully implemented their policy proposals. Students with high grades are no more likely than those with low grades to attempt to implement their policy proposals. Students attending urban and suburban schools attempted to implement the public policy proposals at a greater rate than those who resided in rural areas.

Among participants, what effects does participation at these various levels have on political skills and knowledge? All regression models are included in the Appendix (pp. 20-32). In each model alternative hypotheses as well as differences within the program are controlled for. Students who select their topic score significantly higher on most measures. These include persuasive and reasoning skills, research skills, political contacting; and greater knowledge about local government, and higher scores on the voting scale. Correlations (not listed here) are positive with all other levels of program participation if students select their topics. Students' excitement and their attempts to enact their proposed policy increase when they democratically select a topic of their own choosing. In order to maximize gains in political skills and knowledge, students should be encouraged to select their own topics.

Students who competed show significant and large gains in their knowledge about local government and in participation measures. They also score higher on the research skills index and in persuasive and reasoning skills.

Students who tried to implement their policy proposals gained more in research and contacting skills. They scored slightly lower in knowledge about local government. Perhaps when faced with the reality of implementing their policy, they realized that they did not know quite as much as their colleagues who did not attempt implementation. But the important finding here was that attempting to implement the public policy on the whole elevated scores. This was true regardless of whether the implementation was successful. Whether the proposed policy succeeded or failed had no impact on participants' knowledge and skills. For improving knowledge and skills, attempting to implement a proposal is important, even if the proposal is not adopted.

Political Attitudes

A difference in means test reveals that there are positive differences in most political attitudes of **Project Citizen** students. The concept measuring political tolerance of groups has the largest mean differences. Participants are better able to grasp the responsibilities of citizenship. They are more likely to agree that they can work to make changes in their community and to solve community problems. They think they are more responsible for respecting the rights of people with whom they disagree strongly. They also think that public officials have an obligation to be accountable to the electorate. The multivariate model of the perceived importance of citizen responsibility shows that participation in **Project Citizen** is highly significant and moderately increases the scores of participating students along this scale. Good grades and student age are better able to account for attitudes on government officials' accountability (participation in the program is not significant in this model, p.25).

Table 7 (p.28) reveals that among participants, those who presented a portfolio, those who identified responsible officials, and those who successfully implemented their policy perceive the responsibilities of citizens as more important. Students with higher grades and who chose their own topic are more likely to think that officials should be accountable to the electorate and should protect their rights (this finding contrasts with those who successfully implemented their policy).

Political tolerance of groups and ideas is an important goal of civic education. **Project Citizen** does not explicitly teach "tolerance" but students do work together in groups and make collective decisions. They present their opinions to peers and adult judges. They discuss ideas that may be controversial. The data reveal that participants are more politically tolerant of less threatening groups. These include environmentalists, women's groups, religious groups, human rights groups, and student groups. This is important, as civil society requires citizens to become accustomed to tolerating the competing demands of various groups, within reason. When we look at regression coefficients, program participation has a modest impact on the tolerance of these groups. Better students tolerate these groups at a higher rate. Female students are also more politically tolerant of these groups.[15] Bosnian Croats score somewhat higher on the tolerance scale, controlling for all other factors. **Project Citizen** students who chose their own topic score slightly lower on political tolerance of groups. Those who tried to implement their public policy scored higher, regardless of whether they were effective or not.

As might be expected, **Project Citizen** students are not more tolerant of threatening groups than other students. Both would restrict the liberty of these groups to petition government. These groups—nationalists, separatists, and armed bands—have played a destructive role in the lifetimes of these students. Those with higher grades are slightly less tolerant of these groups. Males are slightly more tolerant. Students who implemented their own policy were more tolerant of threatening groups than those who did not.

Project Citizen students are more tolerant of ideas. That is, they are more likely to agree that there is more than one reasonable position on a policy, that all groups should be allowed to influence government, and that some groups should not be excluded from running for public office. Program participation is significant even when other variables are controlled for. The coefficients are not large, but these small positive effects are promising, especially since this civic education program does not mention or teach the concept of tolerance explicitly. Competition increased tolerance for different points of view, as did student control over the topic selected. Presenting a portfolio had mixed results on this measure, but it did have a positive effect on allowing all groups to run for office.

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[15] This finding is a bit unusual as prior research in other countries found females in general to be somewhat less tolerant than males (*Golebiowska* 1999).

Because more than 90% of students presented a portfolio, the difference between them and the 10% who did not is not particularly important.

Table 2. Attitudes: Differences in Means (T-Test)

	No Curriculum	Curriculum	Mean Difference
External Efficacy			
There is no way to make officials listen.	2.82**	2.68	.14**
	(1.15)	(1.17)	
If I do not care about an election, then I do not need to vote.	3.50	3.47	.03
	(1.36)	(1.42)	
Internal Efficacy			
I have a good understanding of important political issues, and am well prepared to participate.	6.15**	6.53**	.38**
	(1.64)	(1.65)	
People like me have no say about what government does.	2.48	2.30	.18**
	(1.39)	(1.28)	
Responsibilities of Citizens			
Perceived importance of responsibilities of citizens.	11.04	11.75	.70**
	(2.38)	(2.1)	
Responsibilities of Public Officials			
Government officials are not accountable to the electorate.	3.65	3.41	.24**
	(1.76)	(1.69)	
Political Tolerance of Groups			
Politically tolerant of less threatening groups.[1]	20.27	21.09	.82**
	(4.07)	(3.32)	
Politically tolerant of threatening groups.[2]	6.91	6.87	.04
	(2.4)	(2.13)	
Political Tolerance of Ideas			
Sometimes there is more than one reasonable position on policy.	3.67	3.88	.21**
	(.84)	(.81)	
All groups in my community should be allowed to influence a government.	3.67	3.86	.19**
	(1.03)	(1.0)	
Members of some groups should not be allowed to run for elective office.	2.68	2.48	.19**
	(1.27)	(1.25)	
Attention to News			
Read the front-page news.	2.54	2.75	.21*
	(2.22)	(2.28)	
Watch a news program on TV.	3.83	3.94	.11
	(2.36)	(2.31)	
Seek out news on TV.	1.96	1.94	.01
	(.92)	(.93)	

Reported are the mean scores, with the standard deviation in parentheses.

All differences are significant at $p<.01$ or $p<.05$, using either parametric or nonparametric tests.

1. Environmentalist, women's groups, religious groups, women's rights groups, and student groups.
2. Nationalist groups, separatist groups, and armed bands.

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Participating students score slightly higher on one measure of external efficacy. In the regression equation, participation in **Project Citizen** is the only measure that has any impact on students' perceptions that they can get officials to listen to them (this perception may mirror reality; public officials may not be particularly responsive in this emerging democracy). Policymakers in emerging democracies need to grow accustomed to responding to constituent's demands. Elections are a crucial aspect of this sort of accountability. For the full participation model advocated by Rousseau, Pateman, and others, voting is crucial. Students' agreement with the statement that "if a person doesn't care about an election, he or she shouldn't vote", suggests that establishing regular voting habits among youth may be challenging. To be fair, this sentiment appears to be shared by their cohorts in established democracies like the United States, where voting turnout among young people is low. However, the regression model reveals that **Project Citizen** students are less likely to agree with this statement when other factors are held constant. Those who attempted to implement their proposed policy think that they can get officials to listen to them, regardless of their success.

Participation in **Project Citizen** has a positive and significant impact on internal efficacy. Regression reveals that, even when all other factors are controlled for, students feel that they better grasp important political issues and are prepared to participate. They think that people like themselves *can* have a say about what government does. The data show that Bosniac youth also possess a higher sense of internal efficacy.

In attention to news, the only difference between participants and nonparticipants has to do with reading the front-page news. **Project Citizen** students read a newspaper on average of 2.8 days per week in contrast to 2.5 days per week for nonparticipants. Regression models show that when other variables are controlled for, this difference becomes insignificant. Instead, older students and those who have better educated parents are more likely to read the front page of a newspaper. Students who were forced to relocate during the war read the paper less often.

Values

Values are harder to change than knowledge or attitudes, but participating students showed positive changes among the three values measured in this survey. Fundamental rights were professed with greater support from participants. These included freedom or the right to express political views, to join social and political groups, to organize public meetings to criticize the actions of authorities, ask officials for information, and of refugees to return to their homes.

Multivariate regression shows that participation in the program continues to be significant when other factors such as age, average grade, and socioeconomic

status are controlled for. Older students, high achievers and those who participated in **Project Citizen** were more supportive of fundamental rights. Students who attend schools where most of their colleagues will go on to college were less supportive (and were also higher on the authoritarianism scale). The coefficient is small but highly significant. Among participants, those with higher grades, those who selected their own topics, and those who identified public officials responsible for their policy area were more supportive of fundamental rights.

Table 3. Values: Differences in Means (T-Test)

	No Curriculum	Curriculum	Mean Difference
Importance of the Rule of Law			
(Note- lower scores indicate greater support)			
1=Most Supportive	12.44	11.91	.53**
5=Least Supportive	(3.2)	(3.1)	
Importance of Fundamental Rights			
1=Most Important	8.02	7.29	.73**
5=Least Important	(2.64)	(2.41)	
Authoritarianism			
1=Least Authoritarian	5.14	4.87	.27**
5=Most Authoritarian	(2.06)	(2.04)	

Reported are the mean scores, with the standard deviation in parentheses.
All differences are significant at $p<.01$ or $p<.05$, using either parametric or nonparametric tests.

In addition, **Project Citizen** students are more supportive of the rule of law. When asked whether it was okay to break laws you don't agree with, or to suspend laws in times of emergency to solve problems, or to obey laws you consider unjust, or to ignore the law and solve problems immediately, students were less likely to respond in the affirmative. Rule of law is essential in this emerging democracy. In this time of rapid transition, it is important that the emerging political cohort have a sense that rule of law should not be arbitrary. This may foster a sense of moral outrage when laws are broken.[16] Among program participants, those who selected their pubic policy issues and who competed were more supportive of rule of law. Interestingly, the 272 students who reported success in implementing their policy proposals scored slightly lower on this index.

[16] Political corruption is considered by adults to be a major problem. Over half of adults polled in Bosnia and Herzegovina think that most politicians are corrupt. USIA Report (April 1998, 87).

The final value measured in this survey was authoritarianism. The difference in means is small but significant. Students that participated in **Project Citizen** were less likely to agree that a new government ought to be able to "rule with an iron hand" for the peoples' own good, or that elected officials should sometimes have unlimited power in order to achieve important goals. Those who participated in the program score slightly lower on the authoritarian scale, as do those with higher grades and who are female. Bosniacs and students who attend a college preparatory school score slightly higher on the authoritarian scale than do Bosnian Croats or those who attended vocational schools.

Conclusion

Students who participated in **Project Citizen** report greater levels of political participation. They have contacted officials about problems in their community, met with members of interest groups, attended local council meetings, contacted the media, and marched or protested more than nonparticipants. More than 75% of participating students go beyond the program requirements and attempt to implement their public policies, and 30% reported success. Those students who selected their own policy issue tended to report increased gains, including a greater likelihood to vote. Participating students conducted more research on problems in their communities, reported greater knowledge of local government and felt more efficacious. This fits into the goal of civic education—increasing informed political participation. This in turn increases individual rights and advances the public good, as well as strengthens the regime. Political participation may also foster desirable psychological components in individuals. Panel analysis of **Project Citizen** students is needed to ascertain whether these effects hold over time.

Project Citizen participants demonstrate greater political tolerance toward some groups than do nonparticipants. They are more tolerant of ideas and of allowing other groups to run for office. These effects are small, but significant. This is important in a country struggling to emerge from the destruction of war. In addition, participating students are more supportive of the rule of law. They are more supportive of fundamental rights. Participants are also slightly less authoritarian than nonparticipants.

The results from this study show that **Project Citizen** positively affects skills and knowledge, and, to a lesser extent, attitudes and values that are supportive of democracy. Previous research on various civic education programs has not always found significant results, although the findings in this literature are mixed and underdeveloped (Jennings and Langton 1968; Jennings and Niemi 1974; Torney-Purta 1997; Niemi and Junn 1998; Hahn 1998). This study provides new data for the debate over the efficacy of civic education. The positive results of this study contribute to work that demonstrates modest but measurable gains in knowledge, attitudes and values resulting from civic education (Niemi and Junn

1998). This study provides new insights into the debate over the efficacy of civic education. In almost every measure used in the survey, the data support policymakers' efforts to use civic education to foster positive changes in youths' skills, attitudes, and values supportive of democratic institutions and processes.

For those unfamiliar with reading regression tables, please look at the first entry, under student characteristics, .04. Note that there is no asterisk. Asterisks denote significance. This means that .04 could be due merely to chance; year born has no effect on this index measuring persuasive and reasoning skills. Continuing down the column we come to the first significant finding, .29**. A double asterisk indicates that there is less than one chance in ninety-nine that these results were due to chance. We can be very confident that there are differences between groups. The correct interpretation is that students who report higher grades score higher on the scale of persuasive and reasoning skills. The "B" or standardized coefficient reflects effect size, .13**, is moderate and positive. This means that grade has an effect on these skills, holding year born, grade, sex, refugee status, socioeconomic status and treatment constant. If you continue down the column you will note that Bosniacs, in contrast to other ethnic groups, and those whose parents' have higher education and, finally, those who participated in **Project Citizen** score significantly higher on the above index. The largest effect is .14**, the standardized coefficient from **Project Citizen** participation.

Table 4. Multivariate Model of Skills and Knowledge: Comparing Participants v. Nonparticipants Page 1 of 2

Skills and Knowledge Column A: Unstandardized Coefficients/Standard Errors Column B: Standardized Coefficients	Reasoning and Persuasive Skills		Research Skills-Media and Family		Research Skills -Opinion Leaders , Government Officials	
	Column A	Column B	Column A	Column B	Column A	Column B
Student Characteristics						
Year Born	.04 (.03)	.04	.00 (.04)	.01	-08** (.03)	.08**
Average Grade	.29** (.07)	.13**	.04 (.08)	.02	.13* (.06)	.06*
Male	-.03 (.11)	-.01	-.74** (.14)	-.16**	-.21 (.12)	-.05
Bosniac	.36** (.11)	.09**	.42** (.13)	.09**	.33** (.12)	.08**
Refugee (during war)	.01 (.11)	.00	.37** (.13)	.08**	.03 (.11)	.01
Father's & Mother's Education	.13** (.04)	.12**	.13** (.04)	.10**	.12** (.03)	.11**
Father's & Mother's Occupation	.02 (.01)	.06	.02 (.01)	.06	.02 (.01)	.05
School Characteristic						
More Students Go on to College	-.04 (.05)	-.03	-.03 (.06)	-.02	.04 (.05)	.03
Treatment						
Participated in **Project Citizen**	.55** (.11)	.14**	.93** (.13)	.20**	1.62** (.12)	.41**
Adjusted R Square	.08		.1		.22	

Table entries are OLS regression coefficients. *p< .05, **p<.01 or p< .001 (two tailed t-test).

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Table 4. Multivariate Model of Skills and Knowledge: Comparing Participants v. Nonparticipants Page 2 of 2

Skills and Knowledge Column A: Unstandardized Coefficients/Standard Errors Column B: Standardized Coefficients	Political Participation Contacting Officials		Political Participation – Attended Meetings, Marched, Contacted Media, Persuaded		Knowledge Local Government		Likelihood of Voting (Scale 1-7)	
	Column A	Column B	Column A	Column B	Column A	Column B	Column A	Column B
Student Characteristics								
Year Born	.03 (.06)	.02	.17** (.04)	.13**	.13* (.05)	.08*	.19** (.04)	.16**
Average Grade	.14 (.12)	.03	-.14 (.08)	-.06	.14 (.10)	.04	.10 (.08)	.04
Male	-.34 (.21)	-.04	.26 (.14)	.06	.60** (.18)	.10**	.20 (.13)	.05
Bosniac	.74** (.21)	.09**	.12 (.14)	.03	.68** (.18)	.11**	.27* (.13)	.06*
Refugee (during war)	-.18 (.21)	-.02	.14 (.14)	.03	-.43* (.18)	-.07*	.21 (.13)	.05
Father's & Mother's Education	.07 (.07)	.03	.17** (.05)	.13**	.08 (.06)	.05	.08 (.04)	.07
Father's & Mother's Occupation	.07** (.02)	.10**	.02** (.02)	.04**	.03 (.02)	.05	.00 (.02)	.02
School Characteristic								
More Students Go on to College	-.01 (.09)	.00	-.17** (.07)	-.08**	-.04 (.08)	-.01	-.09 (.06)	-.05
Treatment								
Participated in **Project Citizen**	3.78** (.20)	.48**	.38** (.13)	.08**	1.45** (.17)	.23**	.30* (.13)	.07*
Adjusted R Square	.26		.04		.09		.03	

Table entries are OLS regression coefficients. *p< .05, **p<.01 or p<.001 (two tailed t-test).

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Table 5. Multivariate Model Measuring Skills and Knowledge of Only Students Who Participated in Project Citizen Page 1 of 2

Skills and Knowledge b: Unstandardized Coefficients/Standard Errors B: Standardized Coefficients	Persuasive and Reasoning Skills		Research Skills – Media and Family		Research Skills – Opinion Leaders and Government Officials	
	b	B	b	B	b	B
Student Characteristics						
Year Born	.01 (.04)	.01	.01 (.05)	.01	.11* (.05)	.09*
Average Grade	.37** (.09)	.16**	.11 (.12)	.04	.4** (.11)	.15**
Male	-.03 (.15)	-.01	-.5** (.17)	-.12**	-.31 (.18)	-.07
Bosniac	.42** (.15)	.11**	.59** (.18)	.14**	.30 (.18)	.07
Refugee (during war)	.17 (.14)	.04	.00 (.17)	.00	-.19 (.17)	-.05
Father's & Mother's Education	.13** (.05)	.12**	.11* (.06)	.10*	.09 (.06)	.08
Father's & Mother's Occupation	.02 (.02)	.05	.01 (.02)	.01	.02 (.02)	.05
Differences within Program						
Chose Own Topic	.48** (.15)	.12**	-.10 (.17)	-.02	.53** (.18)	.12**
Prepared a Portfolio	.21 (.30)	.03	-1.34** (.35)	-.19**	-1.92** (.35)	-.26**
Competed	.71** (.22)	.15**	.44 (.25)	.09	.8** (.26)	.15**
Identified Responsible Officials	.01 (.19)	.00	-.09 (.22)	-.02	.41 (.23)	.08
Tried to Implement Proposed Policy	-.27 (.18)	-.06	.48* (.21)	.10*	.45* (.21)	.09*
Successfully Implemented Policy	.69 (.16)	.02	-.12 (.19)	-.03	-.14 (.19)	-.03
Adjusted R Square	.12		.06		.12	

Table entries are OLS regression coefficients. *p< .05, **p<.01 or p< .001 (two tailed t-test).

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Table 5. Multivariate Model Measuring Skills and Knowledge of Only Students Who Participated in Project Citizen Page 2 of 2

Skills and Knowledge b: Unstandardized Coefficients/Standard Errors B: Standardized Coefficients	Political Participation Contacting Officials		Political Participation – Attended Meetings, Marched, Contacted Media, Persuaded		Knowledge Local Government		Likelihood of Voting (Scale 1-7)	
	b	B	b	B	b	B	b	B
Student Characteristics								
Year Born	.09 (.09)	.04	.12* (.06)	.08*	.05 (.06)	.03	.06 (.05)	.05
Average Grade	.45* (.21)	.08*	-.27* (.13)	-.09*	.43** (.13)	.13**	.16 (.11)	.06
Male	-.84* (.35)	-.09*	.49* (.20)	.1*	.44* (.22)	.08*	.05 (.17)	.01
Bosniac	1.21** (.35)	.13**	.28 (.21)	.06	.46* (.22)	.08*	.33 (.18)	.08
Refugee (during war)	-.19 (.33)	-.02	.16 (.19)	.03	-.33 (.20)	-.06	.53** (.17)	.13**
Father's & Mother's Education	.21* (.11)	.09*	.2** (.07)	.15**	.15* (.07)	.1*	.01 (.06)	.01
Father's & Mother's Occupation	.06 (.04)	.07	.00 (.02)	-.01	.03 (.02)	.05	.04 (.02)	.1
Program Differences								
Chose Own Topic	1.17** (.35)	.13**	-.44* (.21)	-.09*	1.03** (.22)	.18**	.54** (.18)	.13**
Prepared a Portfolio	-1.66* (.69)	-.11*	-.51 (.41)	-.06	-.53 (.43)	-.05	-.83* (.35)	-.12*
Competed	2.8** (.5)	.25**	.79** (.29)	.13**	1.47** (.31)	.21**	.43 (.26)	.09
Identified Responsible Government Officials	1.97** (.45)	.18**	.58* (.27)	.1*	1.37** (.28)	.2**	.00 (.23)	.00
Attempted to Implement Proposed Policy	.84* (.42)	.08*	-.03 (.25)	-.01	-.58* (.26)	-.09*	.00 (.21)	.00
Successfully Implemented Policy	.35 (.39)	.04	.18 (.22)	.04	-.06 (.22)	-.01	-.26 (.19)	-.06
Adjusted R Square	.23		.05		.2		.04	

Table entries are OLS regression coefficients. *p<.05, **p<.01 or p<.001 (two tailed t-test).

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Table 6. Multivariate Model Comparing Attitudes of Participants v. Nonparticipants Page 1 of 3

Attitudes	External Efficacy						Internal Efficacy	
b: Unstandardized Coefficients/Standard Error B: Standardized Coefficients	There is no way to make officials listen.		If I do not care about an election then I do not need to vote		I have good understanding of important political issues.		People like me have no say about what government does	
	b	B	b	B	b	B	b	B
Student Characteristics								
Year Born	.03 (.02)	.05	.07** (.02)	.1**	.17** (.3)	.18**	.01 (.02)	.01
Average Grade	-.08 (.04)	-.06	.01 (.05)	.01	.09 (.06)	.05	.12* (.05)	.08*
Male	.03 (.07)	.01	-.13 (.08)	.04	.37** (.10)	.12**	.18* (.08)	.06*
Bosniac	6.74 (.07)	.03	-.03 (.08)	-.01	.78** (.1)	.23**	.3** (.08)	.11**
Refugee (during war)	.07 (.07)	.03	-.05 (.08)	-.02	.01 (.1)	.00	-.08 (.08)	-.03
Father's & Mother's Education	-.02 (.02)	-.03	.06* (.03)	.07*	.04 (.03)	.05	.02 (.02)	.03
Father's & Mother's Occupation	.00 (.01)	-.01	.02 (.01)	.05	.02* (.01)	.07*	.03** (.01)	.10**
School Characteristic								
More Students go on to college	.04 (.03)	.04	.14** (.04)	.11**	-.07 (.05)	-.05	.06 (.04)	.06
Treatment								
Participated in **Project Citizen**	-.18** (.07)	-.08**	-.19* (.08)	-.07*	.38** (.09)	.11**	-.26** (.08)	-.10**
Adjusted R Square	.01		.03		.10		.04	

Table entries are OLS regression coefficients. *p<.05, **p<.01 or p<.001 (two tailed t-test).

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Table 6. Multivariate Model Comparing Attitudes of Participants v. Nonparticipants Page 2 of 3

Attitudes	Perceived importance of responsibilities of citizens.		Government officials are not accountable to the electorate.		Politically tolerant of student groups, religious groups, environmentalist, women's rights groups. – Less threatening groups		Politically tolerant of nationalist groups, separatist groups, and armed band groups. – More threatening groups	
b: Unstandardized Coefficients/Standard Errors B: Standardized Coefficients	b	B	b	B	b	B	b	B
Student Characteristics								
Year Born	.08*	.06*	.07*	.07*	.08	.04	.03	.03
	(.04)		(.03)		(.06)		(.04)	
Average Grade	.19*	.07*	-.32**	-.17**	.47**	.11*	-.17*	-.07*
	(.08)		(.06)		(.13)		(.08)	
Male	.00	.00	.06	.02	-1.18**	-.16**	.32*	.07*
	(.14)		(.1)		(.22)		(.14)	
Bosniac	.3*	.06*	.11	.03	-.44*	-.06*	-.1	-.02
	(.13)		(.1)		(.22)		(.14)	
Refugee (during war)	-.09	-.02	.00	.00	-.1	-.01	.06	.01
	(.13)		(.1)		(.22)		(.14)	
Father's & Mother's Education	.03	.02	.05	.05	-.10	-.05	.06	.05
	(.04)		(.03)		(.07)		(.04)	
Father's & Mother's Occupation	.00	.61	-.02	-.05	.03	.05	-.01	-.04
	(.02)		(.01)		(.02)		(.01)	
School Characteristic								
More Students Go on to college	.04	.02	.06	.04	-.07	-.02	-.09	-.05
	(.06)		(.05)		(.10)		(.06)	
Treatment								
Participated in Civitas Project Citizen	.68**	.15**	-.14	-.04	.56**	.08**	.08	.61
	(.13)		(.1)		(.21)		(.13)	
Adjusted R Square	.04		.03		.06			

Table entries are OLS regression coefficients. *p< .05, **p< .01 or p< .001 (two tailed t-test).

Table 6. Multivariate Model Comparing Attitudes of Participants v. Nonparticipants Page 3 of 3

Attitudes	Political Tolerance of Ideas							
	Sometimes there is more than one reasonable position on policy.		All groups in my community should be allowed to influence government.		All groups should be allowed to run for office.		Read the front-page news.	
b: Unstandardized Coefficients/Standard Errors B: Standardized Coefficients	b	B	b	B	b	B	b	B
Student Characteristics								
Year Born	.04**	.09**	.03	.06	.02	.03	.15**	.13**
	(.01)		(.02)		(.02)		(.04)	
Average Grade	.08**	.08**	.11**	.1**	.06	.04	.06	.02
	(.03)		(.04)		(.05)		(.08)	
Male	.00	.00	.00	.00	-.03	-.01	.2	.04
	(.05)		(.06)		(.08)		(.13)	
Bosniac	.01	.01	.15*	.07*	-.15*	-.06*	.05	.01
	(.05)		(.06)		(.08)		(.13)	
Refugee (during war)	-.07	-.04	.02	.01	-.01	.00	-.52**	-.11**
	(.05)		(.06)		(.08)		(.13)	
Father's & Mother's Education	.02	.05	.03	.06	-.03	-.04	.24**	.19**
	(.01)		(.02)		(.03)		(.04)	
Father's & Mother's Occupation	-.01	-.01	.00	.01	.13	.05	.02	.06
	(.01)		(.01)		(.01)		(.01)	
School Characteristic								
More students Go on to College	-.08**	-.01**	.05	.05	.11**	.1**	-.01	-.01
	(.02)		(.03)		(.04)		(.06)	
Treatment								
Participated in Project Citizen	.15**	.09**	.18**	.09**	.19*	.07*	.15	.03
	(.05)		(.06)		(.07)		(.13)	
Adjusted R Square	.03		.03		.02			

Table entries are OLS regression coefficients. *p<.05, **p<.01 or p<.001 (two tailed t-test).

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Table 7. Multivariate Model Measuring Attitudes of Only Students Who Participated in Project Citizen Page 1 of 4

Attitudes b: Unstandardized Coefficients/Standard Errors B: Standardized Coefficients	External Efficacy There is no way to make officials listen. b	 B	 If I do not care about an election then I do not need to vote. b	 B	Internal Efficacy I have a good understanding of important political issues, and am well prepared to participate. b	 B
Student Characteristics						
Year Born	.00 (.03)	.00	.06 (.03)	.08	.10** (.04)	.10**
Average Grade	-.16** (.06)	-.11**	.05 (.07)	.03	.13 (.08)	.06
Male	.07 (.10)	.03	-.23 (.12)	-.08	.31** (.13)	.09
Bosniac	-.05 (.10)	-.02	-.18 (.12)	-.06	.92** (.13)	.27**
Refugee (during war)	.00 (.10)	.00	-.23* (.11)	-.08*	.07 (.12)	.02
Father's & Mother's Education	-.01 (.03)	-.01	.02 (.04)	.02	.08 (.04)	.08
Father's & Mother's Occupation	.00 (.01)	.00	.03* (.01)	.10*	.02 (.01)	.06
Differences within Program						
Chose Own Topic	.06 (.10)	.02	.03 (.12)	.01	.33** (.13)	.10*
Prepared a Portfolio	.28 (.21)	.07	.96** (.24)	.19**	.58 (.26)	.10
Competed	-.10 (.15)	-.03	-.54** (.17)	-.15**	.28 (.19)	.07
Identified Responsible Officials	.15 (.13)	.05	.38* (.16)	.11*	.13 (.17)	.03
Tried to Implement Proposed Policy	-.40** (.12)	-.14**	-.06 (.15)	-.02	-.34* (.16)	-.08*
Successfully Implemented Policy	.21 (.11)	.08	.05 (.13)	.02	.29* (.14)	.08*
Adjusted R Square	.02		.06		.18	

Table entries are OLS regression coefficients. *p<.05, **p<.01 or p<.001 (two tailed t-test).

Table 7. Multivariate Model Measuring Attitudes of Only Students Who Participated in Project Citizen Page 2 of 4

Attitudes	Internal Efficacy		Responsibilities of Citizenship		Responsibilities of Government	
b: Unstandardized Coefficients/Standard Errors B: Standardized Coefficients	People like me have no say about what government does. b	B	Perceived importance of responsibilities of citizens. b	B	Government officials are not accountable to the electorate. b	B
Student Characteristics						
Year Born	.02 (.03)	.02	.07 (.05)	.06	.02 (.04)	.03
Average Grade	.01 (.07)	.01	.41** (.11)	.16**	-.41** (.08)	-.21**
Male	-.04 (.12)	-.01	.10 (.17)	.02	.13 (.13)	.04
Bosniac	-.54** (.12)	-1.19**	.21 (.17)	.05	.10 (.13)	.03
Refugee (during war)	-.06 (.11)	-.02	-.19 (.16)	-.05	-.05 (.13)	-.02
Father's & Mother's Education	0 (.01)	0	.02 (.05)	.02	.05 (.04)	.06
Father's & Mother's Occupation	.04** (.01)	.13**	.01 (.02)	.02	-.01 (.01)	-.05
Differences within Program						
Chose Own Topic	-.28 (.12)	-.10	.21 (.17)	.05	-.40** (.13)	-.12**
Prepared a Portfolio	1.22** (.23)	.23**	.77* (.34)	.11*	.56 (.27)	.10
Competed	-.24 (.17)	-.07	-.06 (.25)	-.01	.10 (.19)	.03
Identified Responsible Officials	.16 (.15)	.04	.66** (.22)	.13**	-.20 (.17)	-.05
Tried to Implement Proposed Policy	.19 (.14)	.06	-.10 (.21)	-.02	.25 (.16)	.06
Successfully Implemented Policy	.03 (.13)	.01	.39* (.19)	.09*	.52** (.14)	.15**
Adjusted R Square	.08		.08		.08	

Table entries are OLS regression coefficients. *p<.05, **p<.01 or p<.001 (two tailed t-test).

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Table 7. Multivariate Model Measuring Attitudes of Only Students Who Participated in Project Citizen Page 3 of 4

Attitudes b: Unstandardized Coefficients/Standard Errors B: Standardized Coefficients	Politically tolerant of student groups, religious groups, environmentalist, women's rights groups. – Less threatening groups		Politically tolerant of nationalist groups, separatist groups, and armed band groups. – More threatening groups		Political tolerance of ideas: Sometimes there is more than one reasonable position on policy.	
	b	B	b	B	b	B
Student Characteristics						
Year Born	.06 (.07)	.03	.03 (.05)	.02	.01 (.02)	.02
Average Grade	.42** (.16)	.11**	-.13 (.11)	-.05	.07 (.04)	.08
Male	-.9** (.26)	-.14	.32 (.18)	.08	.01 (.06)	.01
Bosniac	-.29 (.26)	-.04	.28 (.18)	.06	.02 (.07)	.01
Refugee (during war)	.04 (.25)	.01	.16 (.17)	.04	-.09 (.06)	-.06
Father's & Mother's Education	-.07 (.08)	-.04	.07 (.06)	.06	.03 (.02)	.09
Father's & Mother's Occupation	-.01 (.03)	-.01	-.03 (.02)	-.08	-.01 (.01)	-.05
Differences within Program						
Chose Own Topic	-.74** (.26)	-.12**	-.47* (.18)	-.11*	.29** (.07)	.18**
Prepared a Portfolio	.43 (.52)	.04	.11 (.36)	.01	-.39** (.13)	-.14**
Competed	-.13 (.38)	-.02	-.30 (.26)	-.06	.37** (.09)	.19**
Identified Responsible Officials	-.20 (.34)	-.03	.20 (.23)	.04	.10 (.08)	.05
Tried to Implement Proposed Policy	.82** (.32)	.11**	-.01 (.22)	.00	-.04 (.08)	-.02
Successfully Implemented Policy	.40 (.29)	.06	.67** (.20)	.15**	-.14* (.07)	-.08*
Adjusted R Square	.06		.03		.07	

Table entries are OLS regression coefficients. *p<.05, **p<.01 or p<.001 (two tailed t-test).

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Table 7. Multivariate Model Measuring Attitudes of Only Students Who Participated in Project Citizen Page 4 of 4

Attitudes	Political Tolerance of Ideas			
	All groups in my community should be allowed to influence a government.		All groups should be allowed to run for office.	
b: Unstandardized Coefficients/Standard Errors B: Standardized Coefficients	b	B	b	B
Student Characteristics				
Year Born	.02 (.02)	.03	.03 (.03)	.04
Average Grade	.15** (.05)	.12**	.11 (.07)	.07
Male	-.04 (.08)	-.02	-.03 (.11)	-.01
Bosniac	.25** (.08)	.13**	-.23* (.11)	-.09*
Refugee (during war)	.06 (.08)	.03	-.06 (.10)	-.02
Father's & Mother's Education	.01 (.03)	.03	.02 (.03)	.04
Father's & Mother's Occupation	.00 (.01)	.00	.01 (.01)	.03
Differences within Program				
Chose Own Topic	-.05 (.08)	-.03	-.11 (.11)	-.04
Prepared a Portfolio	.03 (.17)	.01	.59** (.22)	.13**
Competed	-.01 (.12)	.00	-.06 (.16)	-.02
Identified Responsible Officials	.29** (.11)	.12**	.19 (.14)	.06
Tried to Implement Proposed Policy	-.10 (.10)	-.04	.23 (.13)	.07
Successfully Implemented Policy	.00 (.09)	.00	-.01 (.12)	.00
Adjusted R Square	.04		.03	

Table entries are OLS regression coefficients. *p< .05, **p< .01 or p<.001 (two tailed t-test).

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Table 8. Multivariate Model Comparing Values of Participants v. Nonparticipants

Skills and Knowledge b: Unstandardized Coefficients/Standard Errors B: Standardized Coefficients	Importance of Rule of Law 1=Most Supportive 5=Arbitrary b	 B	Importance of Fundamental Rights 1=Most Important 5=Least Important b	 B	Authoritarianism 1=Least Authoritarian 5=Most Authoritarian b	 B
Student Characteristics						
Year Born	.03 (.06)	.02	.22** (.04)	.16**	-.08* (.04)	-.07*
Average Grade	-.15 (.11)	-.04	-.58** (.09)	-.20**	-.33** (.07)	-.14**
Male	-.39* (.19)	-.06*	-.05 (.15)	-.01	-.26* (.12)	-.06*
Bosniac	.20 (.19)	.03	-.22 (.15)	-.04	.61** (.12)	.14**
Refugee (during war)	.04 (.19)	.01	-.06 (.15)	-.01	.06 (.12)	.02
Father's & Mother's Education	.04 (.06)	.02	.02 (.05)	.02	.02 (.04)	.02
Father's & Mother's Occupation	.00 (.02)	.01	-.01 (.02)	-.01	.00 (.01)	.00
School Characteristic						
More Students Go on to College	-.19* (.09)	-.07*	.28** (.07)	.13**	.22** (.06)	.12**
Treatment						
Participated in **Project Citizen**	-.66** (.19)	-.10**	-.40** (.14)	-.08**	-.25* (.12)	-.06*
Adjusted R Square	.02		.06		.05	

Table entries are OLS regression coefficients. *p< 05; **p< 01 or p<.001 (two tailed t-test).

Table 9. Multivariate Model of Values of Only Students Who Participated in Project Citizen

Skills and Knowledge	Importance of Rule of Law		Importance of Fundamental Rights		Authoritarianism	
b: Unstandardized Coefficients/Standard Errors	1=Most Supportive 5=Arbitrary		1=Most Important 5=Least Important		1=Least Authoritarian 5=Most Authoritarian	
B: Standardized Coefficients	b	B	b	B	b	B
Student Characteristics						
Year Born	.01	.01	.04	.03	.04	.36
	(.07)		(.06)		(.05)	
Average Grade	-.16	-.04	-.59**	-.19**	-.21*	-.08*
	(.26)		(.23)		(.10)	
Male	-.38	-.06	.39	.08	-.30	-.07
	(.26)		(.20)		(.17)	
Bosniac	.41	.06	-.02	-.01	.55**	.13**
	(.26)		(.21)		(.17)	
Refugee (during war)	.04	.01	-.25	-.05	-.03	-.01
	(.25)		(.19)		(.16)	
Father's & Mother's Education	.13	.08	-.01	-.01	-.03	-.02
	(.08)		(.06)		(.05)	
Father's & Mother's Occupation	-.01	-.01	.01	.03	.02	.06
	(.03)		(.02)		(.02)	
Differences within Program						
Chose Own Topic	-.67**	-.11**	-.51**	-.10**	-.65**	-.15**
	(.27)		(.21)		(.17)	
Prepared a Portfolio	.27	.03	-.43	-.05	1.05**	.15**
	(.57)		(.41)		(.34)	
Competed	-1.21**	-.16**	.27	.04	.03	.01
	(.38)		(.3)		(.25)	
Identified Responsible Officials	.34	.09	-.89**	-.15**	-.07	-.01
	(.00)		(.26)		(.22)	
Tried to Implement Proposed Policy	.22	.7	.25	.04	.38	.08
	(.32)		(.25)		(.21)	
Successfully Implemented Policy	1.22**	.18**	.14	.03	.48**	.11**
	(.28)		(.22)		(.19)	
Adjusted R Square	.05		.07		.07	

Table entries are OLS regression coefficients. *p<.05, **p<.01 or p<.001 (two tailed t-test).

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Appendix A- Question Items and Indexes

Persuasive and Reasoning skills, directly transferable to political action:

I am skilled at explaining problems in my community or country to other people.
I am skilled at using facts and reason to analyze other people's positions on problems.

Research Skills: As part of a school assignment or for some other reason, I have gathered information on problems in my community from:
Skills 1.
Newspapers, Radio, Television, Family and friends
Skills 2.
Professors or Scholars, Lawyers or Judges, Community Organizations or Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs), Government Offices

Participation in Politics: Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason:
Participation 1.
spoken with a government official about problems in your community?
tried to get other people to support your solution to a problem in your community or country?
written a letter to a government official?
phoned a government official?
met with members of interest groups to obtain information?
made an appointment and visited a government official by yourself or with a group?

Participation 2.
attended a local council meeting?
called a TV/radio news/political talk show?
taken part in a protest or march?
tried to persuade someone to vote for a specific candidate or cause?

Know about local government, who is responsible, who to contact, how to influence government:

If there were a problem in your community, would you know what governmental official or branch might be responsible for such problems?
Could you find the governmental official or branch that is responsible for solving a particular problem in your community?
Do you know the steps to take to influence members of your government?

Better grasp the importance of elections

Having elections ensures that elected officials will pay attention to what the people think when it decides to act.

Respond that, if given the opportunity, I would be more likely to vote:
(Scale 1-7.) "vote"

Run for office.
Someday I might like to run for an elected office.

External efficacy, perceptions about government responsiveness to citizen demands:

If government officials are not interested in hearing what people like me think, there is really no way to make them listen.

If a person doesn't care how an election comes out, he or she shouldn't vote on it.

Internal efficacy:

I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country.
I feel well prepared for participating in political and public life.

People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

Grasp responsibilities of citizenship:

I can work with others to make changes in my community.
I try to help solve problems in my community.
I am responsible for respecting the rights of people with whom I disagree strongly.

Citizens are responsible for keeping themselves informed about public issues.
Citizens, as members of a society, have an obligation to participate in public life.

Grasp concept that public officials are accountable to the electorate:

Once elected, government officials are not responsible for listening to the opinions of the people in their communities.
Elected officials are only responsible for protecting the rights of the people who elected them.

Demonstrate increases in reasoned political tolerance, of groups and ideas:

Tolerance 1. (Less threatening groups).
Environmentalists
Women's groups
Religious groups
Human rights groups
Student groups

Tolerance 2. (More threatening groups).
Nationalist groups
Separatist groups
Armed bands.

Tolerance 3. (Ideas)
Sometimes there is more than one reasonable position on what should be done about a problem in my community or country.
All groups in my community should be allowed to try to influence government.
Members of some groups should not be allowed to run for elective office.

Interest in political affairs via attention to news:

How many days a week do you usually read the front-page news in the newspaper?
How many days a week do you usually watch a news program, such as the evening news on television?
Is news something you try to watch on TV, or do you just see it because someone else has it on?

Support for the rule of law:

If you don't agree with a law, it is all right to break it.
In times of emergency, the government ought to be able to suspend law to solve pressing social problems.
It is not necessary to obey a law you consider unjust.
Sometimes it is better to ignore the law and solve problems immediately rather than wait for a legal solution

Support for fundamental rights of expression, assembly and participation:

Freedom to express your political views.
Freedom to join and participate in social and political groups.
The right of all refugees to return to their homes.

The right to be able to organize public meetings to criticize the actions of authorities.
I have the right to ask government officials for information.

Authoritarianism:

When a government is in the early stages of creating a new society the people must often be "ruled with an iron hand" for their own good.
Elected officials should sometimes have unlimited power in order to achieve important goals.

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